JAINA SAHITYA SAMSODHAKA-STUDIES
No. 2

THE JAINAS

IN THE

HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE

(A Short outline of the history of Jain Literature)

BY

Dr. MAURICE WINTERNITZ, Ph. D.

EDITED BY

JINA VIJAYA MUNI

(Hon. Director, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay)

PUBLISHED BY

Jaina Sahitya Samsodhaka Pratiṣṭhan

(AHMEDABAD)

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Gandhi Road, Ahmedabad.

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To

Profound Scholar of the Jain Canon

Dr. WALTHER SCHUBRING

in memory of those happy recollections
during four months of my stay with him
in Hamburg in the summer of 1928

Jina Vijaya

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PREFACE

THE late Dr. MAURICE WINTERNITZ was the foremost in that galaxy of German orientalists who have by their researches and publications rendered yeoman service to the cause of Sanskrit literature and made a valuable contribution to the understanding of Indian Culture. During his whole life this great savant tirelessly laboured to serve the noble cause of Indological studies by writing books and essays and editing numerous works dealing with the various aspects of Sanskrit and Prakrit literature. His "HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE" will always stand as an immortal pillar to his fame bearing testimony to his intense devotion to learning and scholarship. The work will be read with respect and admiration so long as even one student of Sanskrit literature lives on this earth.

In that monumental work Dr. WINTERNITZ has drawn a graphic and authoritative outline of three extremely rich secular literatures written in three main languages of the old Indo-Aryan family, namely, Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali, and dealing with three distinct strands of the Indic culture, the Brahmanic, the Jainist and the Buddhist. It is no mere accident that he wrote the great composition in his own national, the German, language. He had an almost equal mastery of the English language, and he was no doubt aware that most of those who would make use of his book were English-knowing rather than German-knowing. Still he preferred like most other German scholars to enrich his own mother tongue by publishing his *magnum opus* in the German language. In doing so he was in effect paying homage to the spirit of Indo-Germanic culture and acting upon his supreme faith in Aryan ideology.

As soon as I became acquainted with the second part of that great work, the part that deals with the Literature of the Jains I came to have a natural desire to get the portion translated into either Hindi or Gujarati. I was not, however, able to find a proper Hindi or Gujarati knowing student who would at the same time be so well versed in the German language as to be able to correctly grasp the spirit of the original and honestly render it into the Indian language. I thought of and actually commenced learning the German language myself, but could not make much progress partly because I was not able to give to the study the necessary time, being busy with my own literary studies and researches, and partly on account of the want of a proper guide. The failure to make a great headway in the study of German language consumed me, on the contrary, with a curious but intensively keen wish to visit Germany and quench my insatiable thirst for knowledge by establishing a direct contact with the intellectual luminaries of that country. To my great amazement and delight I was, by the grace of God, actually able to fulfil that wish and to visit Germany in the year 1928.

I had at the time no good knowledge of any European language, for the study of English I had for political reasons abhorred and detested and my progress with German had been highly inadequate. In Germany I understood for the first time that it had been a mistake to run away from English in that way. I began learning both English and German at the same time and made fair progress with both, more perhaps with English, as I had had some previous knowledge of that language, which I had then begun for political reasons to detest.

My study of the German language was rudely disturbed, for I began to be impelled by a desire to take part in the national movement and to speak on national and cultural matters. The tempo of events drove me back to India sooner than I had planned to return and in obedience to my cherished ambition I courted imprisonment by

joining the struggle for *Svarājya.* I thought I would be able to continue my study of German language in the Jail and to slowly add to my knowledge with the help of books that I had brought with me from Germany; but in the Nasik Jail, where I was imprisoned, I was more lucky in getting as my associates the late Seth Jamnalalji Bajaj, Sjt. K. M. Munshi, and others whose contact I had greatly desired and with whom I found mere delight in discussing the deeper aspects of Indian culture and history and various problems of Sanskrit and Gujarati literature, more than in reading the elementary books of German which I had with me. My pursuit of German for the time being was given up.

After my release from the Nasik Central Jail, fate willed that I should accept the Directorship of the Jaina Academy founded by my honoured friend, the late Babu Shri Bahadursinghji Singhi of Calcutta at Vishwabharati, Shantiniketan, the educational *tīrtha* established by the late Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore. Immediately after my assumption of the Directorship I started the *Singhi Jain Series* through the munificence of Babuji. Among the objects of this series I specifically mentioned the bringing to light of the original Sanskrit works and the publication of translations made into English, Hindi or Gujarati by scholars of the valuable works written in the German and French languages by the eminent scholars of Jain literature. As the eleventh volume in the series I had the satisfaction of publishing an English translation made by my learned friend, Dr. Manilal Patel, of Dr. Bühler's classical German work entitled the "LIFE OF HEMCHANDRA", the well-known doyen of Jain scholars and the greatest luminary in the firmament of Jain literature. To this English translation Dr. M. WINTERNITZ on my request contributed a valuable preface.

I took this opportunity of addressing Dr. WINTERNITZ with regard to the section on Jain literature in his "History of Indian Literature" which I had the

desire to get translated into the English language. Dr. WINTERNITZ informed me that an English translation of the entire book was being published by the Calcutta University and was already in the press; but he offered to send me for publication a short dissertation in English which he had written some years ago giving a short outline of the history of Jain literature such as might be useful to a student who wished to obtain a cursory view of the subject. On my wishing to publish it, he sent me the article by post.

Just then I shifted my headquarters from Shantiniketan to Ahmedabad, and Dr. WINTERNITZ'S article unfortunately got mixed up in a huge mass of files in the course of the shifting. I was naturally grieved over it, the more so because about that time Dr. WINTERNITZ himself passed away from this world.

Luckily Dr. WINTERNITZ'S valuable article was discovered last year as I was looking through my old files and papers, which were brought form Ahmedabad to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan in Bombay. My joy was boundless and I immediately decided to restart the Jain Sāhitya Saṁs'odhaka Granthamālā, which I had inaugurated more than 25 years ago but which I had discontinued on account of various reasons. I have now, great pleasure in placing this essay into the hands of scholars through this series.

Dr. WINTERNITZ'S copy, which he sent to me, is a type-written script wherein the learned Doctor has himself in his own handwriting made several amendations and alterations and written in the Nāgarī script the Sanskrit verses quoted in the text. I naturally value the copy very greatly. The text of the essay in this book is based completely on that typescript.

The perusal of the essay establishes that Dr. WINTERNITZ had composed it as an outline before writing the detailed chapter in the "HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERA-

TURE" in its final form. This essay was first written before about 1920, although certain improvements and alterations were made in it afterwards. I may mention here with a certain amount of pride that Dr. WINTERNITZ welcomed the new theory about the date of Haribhadra Sūri which I had formulated in my Sanskrit essay entitled "हरिभद्राचार्यस्य समयनिर्णयः" and which I had presented to the First Oriental Conference held at Poona in 1919 (Ref. footnote on p. 10 of this book). Following him Dr. JACOBI also had accepted this theory and wholeheartedly supported it revising his own.

The essay attempts to give only a brief outlinear view of Jain literature, but its account of the various principal and subordinate parts of Jain literature is at once authoritative and mature. As such it is bound to serve as a highly useful guide to a student of the subject before he proceeds to the detailed analysis of the exhaustive account of Jain literature in the" History of Indian Literature".

I may parenthetically add that as a matter of fact even the exhaustive chapter in the "History of Indian Literature" gives but a sketchy occount of the enormous wealth of Jain literary genius. Its vastness and variety is staggering. Dr. WINTERNITZ has given prefatory descriptions of the few Caritas, Kathās, and other forms of literature in addition to the usually known canonical works and treatises bearing on them. There are hundreds, nay, thousands, other literary works of which Dr. WINTERNITZ has made no mention and had obviously no knowledge, which are still lying hidden in the Jain Bhandars awaiting the birth of another WINTERNITZ who would work on them with patience and industry. Indeed for a correct portrayal of the history of Indian civilisation during the last 2000 years it would be quite impossible to think of any other literature which could produce vast, varied and rich materials at all comparable to the hidden treasures of Jain literature.

The motivating spirit of Jain literature is highly social and spiritual. Jainism aims at the redemption of the individual as well as the group from all kinds of human misery. It has as its goal the spiritual uplift of every living being. It unequivocally preaches the practice of non-injury to all living organisms.

From the vast treasure of Jain literature it would be quite easy to find out numerous thoughts and statements which can quite usefully guide the leaders of the United Nations today in the performance of their duty to restore peace and order to the war-weary world. Dr. WINTERNITZ has drawn pointed attention in this essay to an utterance of the Jain Acharya Somadevasūrī in his *Nītivākyāmṛta*.

शस्त्राधिकारिणो न मन्त्राधिकारिणः स्युः ।

The war-mongering ammunition manufacturers and army commanders have no right to participate in the deliberations which are aimed at the establishment of enduring peace and order in the world. War-mongering leaders have a natural hankering after war, and if true peace is to be established between the nations the peace conference must be constituted by peaceful and peace-loving citizens. While taking note of that precept of *Nītivākyāmṛta*, Dr. WINTERNITZ who took it to be fully significent, has thus mentioned in this essay :—

"Much blood-shed would have been avoided and Europe would have been spared infinite misery, if during the last years Somadeva's wise rule had always been followed—"Military authorities should not be authorities in (political) counsels"—p. 46.

Dr. WINTERNITZ had written his essay during the years just following the last world war, and as he passed away before the commencement of the second he was spared the bitter experiences of all-pervasive horror that typified the recent war. But he tacitly stated, and we are ourselves realising today, that war ministers can never be fruitfully made to join the deliberations of a peace conference.

The emancipation of mankind from the miseries that human flesh is heir to is possible of achievement only by positive action on the part of these who cherish the thoughts embodied in the following stanza which is constantly recited at all Jain congregations and on all important occasions :

"सर्वेऽपि सन्तु सुखिनः सर्वे सन्तु निरामयाः ।
सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु मा कश्चिद्दुःखमाप्नुयात् ॥"

May all be happy ; may all be healthy ; may all realize good ; let no one be miserable.

*

In conclusion, I must not forget to convey my sincere thanks to my learned colleage, Dr. A. S. Gopani, Professor, Singhi Jain Shastra Shikshapith of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, for the trouble he has taken in correcting proofs and preparing the index and seeing this book through the press.

New Year Day,
V. S. 2003

JINA VIJAYA MUNI

THE JAINAS

In the History of Indian Literature

*

§ 1) Brief Survey of the contribution of the Jainas

IT would take a fairly big volume to give a history of all that the Jainas have contributed to the treasures of Indian literature. When Albrecht Weber wrote his famous Lectures on the History of Indian Literature (second German Edition 1876) he only referred in a note to the Jaina Caritras and their importance for the history of India, with a passing reference to the *S'atruñjaya Māhātmya*. He mentioned in a note the atomistic theory of Jaina philosophers, as found in the *Bhagavatī*. Besides these notes he devoted a whole page to the sacred books of the Jainas and in a long note he pointed out what great importance the Jainas have had for Sanskrit Literature, especially for grammar and lexicography. He mentioned the great Hemacandra and his *Yogaśāstra* which shortly before Professor Windisch had made known by publishing the text with a German translation.

That was all,[1]-but it was more than later writers on Indian Literature had to say about the Jainas. The brilliant and much-read book on the Literature and Culture of India by Leopold von Schroeder, published in 1887, devotes half a page to the sect of the Jainas without even mentioning anything about Jaina literature. Professor A. A. Macdonell in his useful History of Sanskrit Literature, published in 1900, has a few stray remarks on Jaina religion, without saying anything about the literature of the Jainas. He gives the titles of Hemachandra's grammatical and lexicographical works without even mentioning that Hemacandra was a Jaina. A. Baumgartner in his learned compilation "Die Literaturen Indiens und Ostasiens" (forming part of a voluminous "Geschichte der Weltliteratur," third and fourth edition, 1902) devotes four pages to the Jainas and their literature, winding up with a quotation from E. Washburn Hopkins' "Religions of India," where it is said that the Jainas have no literature worthy of that name. H. Oldenberg in his Essays on the Literature of Ancient India (Die Literatur des alten Indien) published in 1903 disposes of the Jainas in three lines. R. W. Frazer in his "Literary History of India" (1898) has well pointed out (pp. 310 f)

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1 Weber has well made up for this deficiency of his book (which was not his fault, but simply due to the state of knowledge at his time); for he was the very pioneer of Jaina studies by his account of Jaina literature in the "Indische Studien" Vols. 16 and 17 (1883-85) and in his Reports on Jaina Manuscripts in the Royal Library at Berlin (1888-91).

the great influence the Jainas have exercised on the Dravidian literature of the South. "It was through the fostering care of the Jainas, that the South first seems to have been inspired with new ideals, and its literature enriched with new forms of expression". And he quotes the words of the great Dravidian scholar Dr. Pope who said that the "Jain compositions were clever, pointed, elegant, full of satire, of wordly wisdom, epigrammatic, but not religious." But though he acknowledges the debt of Dravidian literature to the Jainas, he has nothing to say about Jaina literature and its place in the Sanskrit and Prakrit literatures of India.

§ 2) Statement of the Writer's Thesis

When I began in 1913 to write the second volume of my History of Indian Literature it was clear to me from the beginning that I should have to devote a whole section to Jaina literature. I had to avail myself of the labours of A. Weber, H. Jacobi, E. Leumann, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, A. Guerinot, Bühler, R. Hoernle, Joh. Hertel, and many others, and at least some of the most important text publications issued by the Jain community were accessible to me. And it is only due to the limited space at my disposal that I could not treat the sacred literature of the Jainas as fully as I should have liked to do, but had to content myself with devoting to it about 70 printed pages. But I have treated in these pages only the religious literature, while reserving the non-religious poetical and

scientific literature of the Jainas to the 3rd volume of my book. I am, however, fully aware that I was not able to do full justice to the literary achievements of the Jainas. But I hope to have shown that the Jainas have contributed their full share to the religious, ethical, poetical, and scientific literature of ancient India.

Here I only wish to give a short summary, a bird's eye view, as it were—of the most important contributions the Jainas have made to almost all departments of Indian literature. I do not intend to speak here of the sacred literature as far as it is concerned with Jaina worship and dogmatics. But even this sacred literature contains much that—apart from its importance for the history of religion—must be valued also from a literary point of view as part of the general literature of India.

§ 3) Ascetic Poetry and its Characteristic Features

In several books of the Jaina Siddhānta we find a number of texts, both prose and poetry, which belong to what I have called *Ascetic Literature* or "Ascetic Poetry".[1] I may be allowed to say a few words about what I mean by this term.

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1 If I am not mistaken, Professor E. Leumann (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenland, Gesellschaft 48, 1894, pp. 65 ff) was the first to speak of a "Parivrājaka Literature" though not quite in the same sense as I use the term "Ascetic Literature". See my lecture on "Ascetic Literature of Ancient India" in *some problems of Indian Literature* (Calcutta University Press, 1925), pp. 21 ff.

It is a general habit among writers on Indian literature to describe everything that is not either Buddhist or Jaina literature as "Brāhmaṇic". Now, I do not think, that this terminology does justice to the facts of Indian literary history. In Buddhist texts we constantly read of "Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas", just as Aśoka in his inscriptions speaks of samana-bambhana, and as Megasthenes makes a clear distinction between "Brehmānas" and "Sarma'nas". This shows clearly that at least four or five centuries before Christ there were in India two distinct classes of representatives of intellectual and spiritual life. And I believe to have shown that these two classes of intellectuals have each developed a literature of their own. Even before there was such a thing as Buddhist or Jaina literature, there must have been a *Samaṇa literature* besides the *Brāhmaṇic literature.* Numerous traces of this Samaṇa literature are to be found in the Epics and in the Purāṇas. Its characteristic features are the following. It disregards the system of castes and āśramas; its heroes are, as a rule, not gods and Ṛṣis, but kings or merchants or even Śūdras. The subjects of poetry taken up by it are not Brāhmaṇic myths and legends, but popular tales, fairy stories, fables and parables. It likes to insist on the misery and sufferings of Saṃsāra, and it teaches a morality of compassion and Ahiṃsā, quite distinct from the ethics of Brāhmanism with its ideals of the great sacrificer and generous supporter of the priests, and its strict adherence to the caste system.

§ 4) Close connection between Jain Literature and Post-vedic Literature established

Many pieces of this ascetic poetry are to be found in the *Mahābhārata*, especially in its XIIth, book. One of these, for instance, is the beautiful Itihāsa-Saṃvāda of Jājali and Tulādhāra (*Mahābhārata* XII 261–264), where the shopkeeper of Benares Tulādhāra teaches the Brāhmaṇa Jājali "the eternal religion of love"

………धर्मं सरहस्यं सनातनम् ।
सर्वभूतहितं मैत्रं पूर्णं यं जना विदुः ॥

I mention also the fable of the Hunter and the Pigeons (*Mahābh.* XII, 143–149), the legend of Mudgala (*Mahābh.* III, 260 f.); the Vidurahitavākya (*Mahābh.* V. 23–40) and other sections of the *Mahābhārata* in which Vidura, who is of doubtful birth[1] propounds lessons of morality which are far more in accordance with Jaina or Buddhist than with Brāhmaṇic ethics. These and many other passages found in the *Mahābhārata* and in the Purāṇas might just as well have their place in any of the Jaina or Buddhist canonical books. In many cases verses and Itihāsa-Saṃvādas of the Mahābhārata have actually been traced in Pāli Gāthās, and some Itihāsa-Saṃvādas the *Mahābhārata* has in common with Buddhist or Jaina books or with both. A very remarkable example of the latter is in the fine dialogue between a father and his son in the *Mahābhārata* XII, 175 (repeated XII, 277), which occurs also-with variants-in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* Xff., in the Buddhist Jātaka (Nr. 509 in

1 He says himself in *Mbhār.* V. 40, 5: शूद्रयोनावहं जातः ।

Faüsboll's edition), and again in the *Uttarajjhayaṇa Sutta* (Adhy. XIV) of the Jainas. In all these texts the father—in the Mahābhārata a Veda-studying Brāhmaṇa, in the Buddhist and Jaina versions a Purohita—recommends the Brāhmaṇic ideal, according to which a man should first study the Veda as a Brahmacārin, then fulfil the duties of a householder, and only in his old age retire to the woods to lead a hermit's life; while the son[1] shuns this ideal: seeing that the world is constantly harassed by death and old age, he prefers to retire from this world at once and to seek emancipation by following the ascetic ideal. It is just possible, that this poetical dialogue is either of Buddhist or of Jaina origin, and has come to be included in the Epic and Purāṇic literature at some later time. But it seems to me more likely that it belongs to a much older stratum of ascetic literature, from which both the Buddhist and the Jaina, as well as the Epic and the Purāṇic texts are derived.

The same applies to many other stories, ballads, dialogues, groups of verses and especially single gāthās, which we find (in different versions) both in Jaina and in Buddhist literature, and sometimes also in Epic or Purāṇic texts. Thus we find in the *Mahābhārata* (XII 178, 2) the famous saying of King Janaka of Mithilā, after he had adopted ascetic life: "How boundless is my wealth, as I possess nothing! When Mithilā is on fire, nothing that is mine will be burnt." The same verse occurs in the Jātaka Nr. 539, gāthā

1 In the *Uttarajjhayaṇa* there are two sons.

125, and again in the IX Adhyayana of the *Uttarajjhayaṇa*—from a literary point of view perhaps the most interesting book of the Jaina canon—, in the beautiful ballad of King Nami, where the ascetic ideal is contrasted with that of the warrior and ruler. This is one of the Paccekabuddha legends, which J. Charpentier[1] has traced in Buddhist and Jaina literature. These are stories of Kings who have retired from the world, after having been reminded of the transitoriness of life or of the pleasures of peace of mind, of the evils of greed and lust by some insignificant event, such as the sight of a mango-tree deprived of its fruits, or of two vultures fighting for a bit of meat and lacerating each other, or of a bull running towards a cow and being pierced to death by another bull. All these legends belong to the ascetic literature of ancient India. Other legends of this kind occur in the XII Adhy. of the *Uttarajjhayaṇa*, which has been shown by J. Charpentier (Zeitschrift der D. Morgenl. ges. 63, 171 ff.) to have its counterpart in the Mātaṅga-Jātaka (Nr. 497), and again in the XIII. Adhy. of *Uttarajjhayaṇa* where we meet with the legend of Citta and Sambhūta, which E. Leumann has long ago traced in the Buddhist Jātaka Nr. 498 and in two other Jaina versions.[2] One of the most interesting pieces in the Jaina Aṅgas is the Paësi

1 Studien zur indischen Erzahlungsliteratur I. Paccekabuddhageschichten, Uppsala 1908 and Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Ges. 66, 38 ff.

2 Wiener Zeitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes 5, 111 ff.; 6, 1 ff.

dialogue in the *Rāyapaseṇaijja*, a Buddhist version of which is the *Pāyāsisutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* Nr. 23. The original may in this case be the Jaina dialogue, but it is also possible that both have to be derived from an older Itihāsa-Saṃvāda, forming part of the ancient ascetic literature.

Both in the *Ayāraṃgasutta* and in the *Sūyagaḍaṃga* we find many verses which in form and contents could just as well be included in the Buddhist *Suttanipāta* or *Dhammapada*. These also belong to the Samaṇa literature of ancient India. We see, then,

that in the sacred texts of the Jainas a great part of the ascetic literature of ancient India is embodied, which has also left its traces in Buddhist literature as well as in the Epics and Purāṇas. Jaina literature, therefore, is closely connected with the other branches of post-Vedic religious literature.

Future research will have to show, how much of this literature is the original work of Jainas, and how much the Buddhists or other sects have contributed to it.

§ 5) Rich Narrative literature of the Jainas

I have already mentioned that ascetic poetry likes to take its subjects from popular tales, fairy stories, fables and parables. Now the Jainas have always had a special liking for any kind of popular poetry, especially folk-tales. Jaina literature, both canonical and still more non-canonical, is a very store-house of popular stories, fairy tales, and all kinds of narrative poetry. I need only refer to the numerous publications of my friend

Prof. Hertel[1] who has shown,

how much the Jainas have contributed to Indian narrative literature in prose and verse. Always fond of story-telling, the Jainas were good story-tellers themselves, and have preserved to us numerous Indian tales that otherwise would have been lost to us.

Some remarkable versions of stories, known also from other sources, and many new tales are found already in the Aṅgas & still more in the *Commentaries* (*Niryuktis*, *Bhāṣyas*, *Cūrṇis*, etc.). Some interesting Jaina versions of Epic and Purāṇic stories, such as the legend of the sons of Sagara and the descent of the Gaṅgā, occur in Devendra's commentary on the *Uttarajjhayaṇa*, where we also meet with a version of the Kṛṣṇa legend. The latter is already referred to in the eighth Aṅga. A very curious version of the tale of Draupadī and her five husbands is found in the *Nāyādhamma-kahāo*, the sixth Aṅga. The most important commentaries, in which numerous and most valuable tales of all kinds are stored up—much like the stories in the Buddhist Jātaka or Dhammapada Commentaries-, are those of Haribhadra, whom we now have to date as early as the 8th, century A. D[2]., Śīlāṅka (9th cent.), Śāntisūri and Devendra (11th cent.).

1 In his latest publication "On the Literature of the Shvetambaras of Gujarat (Leipzig 1922)" Prof. Hertel says "that during the middle-ages down to our days the Jainas, and especially the Śvetāmbaras of Gujarat, were the principal story-tellers of India".

2 See Muniraj shree Jinavijaya, the Date of Haribhadra Sūri (read at the first Oriental Conference, November 1919, Poona), published in Jaina Sāhitya Saṃśodhaka

Of great importance are also the *Kathānakas*, tales of a more popular character which are intended to serve at the same time the purpose of religious edification and of telling amusing stories, such as the *Kālakācāryakathānaka*,[1] the *Uttamacaritrakathānaka*, the *Campakaśreṣṭhikathānaka* and *Pālagopālakathānaka* of Jinakīrtisūri (15th, cent.) and the *Pāpabuddhi-Dharmabuddhi-Kathānaka*. These *Kathānakas* are generally written in a kind of popular Sanskrit that is a Sanskrit influenced by the vernaculars.

In later times the Jainas have also compiled great collections of tales, often with a frame story, such as the *Samyaktvakaumudī*, which A. Weber has published in 1889 and compared with the "Arabian Nights", the *Kathākośa* (translated by C. H. Tawney, London 1895 and another *Kathākośa* by Śubhaśīlagaṇi, who is also the author of the *Pañcaśatīprabodhasambandha*, Jineśvara's *Kathānakakośa* (Bhandarkar's Report 1883–84, p. 41 ff), the *Antarakathāsaṃgraha* of Rājaśekhara, the *Kathāmahodadhi* of Somacandra (compiled in 1448) and the *Kathāratnākara*, compiled in 1600 by Hemavijaya, a German translation of which has just been published by Prof. Hertel.

Granthamālā, Poona. See also Proceedings & Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, Vol. I, 1920-pp. CXXIV ff.

1 See Hertel, l. c. pp. 21 f. But there is also a *Kālakācāryakathānaka* of Bhāvadevasūri in 102 Prākrit verses.

The Jainas have not only adopted epic themes such as the Kṛṣṇa legend, the story of Draupadī, and others into their sacred writings and the commentaries on them, but they have also their own Epics and Purāṇas. The earliest poem of this kind is the Prākrit epic *Paumacariya* by the poet Vimala Sūri, written 530 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa.[1] This is the Jaina *Rāmāyaṇa*, and served as a model for other adaptations of the Rāma legend such as Raviṣeṇa's *Padma-purāṇa* in Sanskrit (678 A. D.), and Hemacandra's Jaina *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The earliest Jaina adaptations of the Mahābhārata is the *Harivaṃs'a Purāṇa* of Jinasena (783 A.D.[2])

But it is above all the legendary biographies of the 63 "Excellent Men" (uttamapurisa) which constitute the most popular substitutes for the Brāhmaṇical Epics and Purāṇas among the Jainas. These are the works called 'Purāṇas' by the Digaṃbaras or the caritras by the Śvetāṃbara Jainas.[3]

The earliest of these works is the *Triṣaṣṭi-lakṣaṇa-Mahā-Purāṇa* of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra (between 877 and 897 A. D). Among the Śvetāṃbaras Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita* (written between 1160 and 1172 A. D) is better known. Its appendix, the

1 *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 489 fl.

2 *Loc. cit.* pp. 495 ff.

3 *Loc. cit.* pp. 497 ff.

Pariśiṣṭa Parvan or *Sthavīrāvalī Carita* is a very store-house of tales and stories of all kinds.[1]

Numerous are the works which contain poetical life-stories of individual Tīrthakaras, especially the most popular among them, viz, Ṛṣabha, Śāntinātha, Nemī, and Pārśva, besides Mahāvīra himself. Some of these works, as f. i, the *Pārśvanātha-Caritra* by Bhāvadeva Sūrī (1255 A. D), contain a great many interesting stories, fables, fairy-tales and gnomic sayings.[2]

Again another kind of narrative literature is represented by the *Caritras* and *Prabandhas*. The Caritras are legendary biographies of the Tīrthakaras, Cakravartins and Ṛṣis of the past, while the Prabandhas contain stories of famous monks and laymen of historical times. That the Caritras contain by no means only dull lives of saints, but also many interesting and amusing stories, for which the life of a saint is only a frame, may be seen from the *Pārśvanāthacaritra* of Bhāvadevasūri which has been edited at Benares 1912, and of which M. Bloomfield has given a full account.[3] A voluminous work on the lives of all the Tīrthakaras is the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* with its far more interesting appendix, the *Sthavīrāvalicarita* or *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (edited by H. Jacobi, Bibl. Ind. 1894 and translated into German by J. Hertel, 1908).

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1 *Loc. cit.* pp. 505 ff.

2 *Loc. cit.* pp. 512 ff., and cf. M. Bloomfield, *The Life and Stories of the Jaina Saviour Pārśvanātha*, Baltimore, 1919.

3 *Loc. cit.*,

The latter work has been continued by Prabhācandra and Pradyumnasūri (about 1275 A. D.) in the *Prabhāvakacaritra*, containing biographies of 22 Jaina teachers, amongst them Hemacandra. The *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga (1306 A. D.) and the *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekhara (1349 A. D.) contain numerous interesting anecdotes about the famous kings Vikramāditya, Śīlāditya and Bhoja and the poets & literary men supposed to have lived at their courts. Though of no real historical value at all, yet these anecdotes throw a flood of light on the life and manners of the time, especially the literary life at the courts of Indian princes.

Different from this more or less popular literature are the *Kathās*, more pretentious works of fiction, real novels in a higher poetic style. They were at first written in Prākrit, later in Sanskrit. One work of this kind was the *Taraṅgavatī* of Pādalipta (Pālitta) Sūri, mentioned already in the *Aṇuogadāra Sutta*. This is lost, but a shorter version of it in Prākrit Gāthās under the title *Taraṅgalolā* is preserved in one Manuscript (which, however, as Prof. Jacobi tells me, is in a very bad state). Better known are the religious novels *Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra in Prākrit prose with Gāthās (ed. by H. Jacobi in Bibli. Ind.), the *Bhavisattakahā* of Dhaṇavāla (ed. by H. Jacobi, Munchen, 1918), a romantic epic in Apabhraṃśa, and the allegorical novel in mixed prose and verse *Upamitibhavaprapañcākathā* of Siddharṣi (906

A. D.), which has been edited by P. Peterson and H. Jacobi in Bibl. Ind. 1899 ff. While these novels are original Jaina productions, the *Yaśastilaka* of the Digambara Somadevasūri (959 A. D.), the *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla (970 A. D.), and the *Gadyacintāmaṇi* of Oḍayadeva are mere imitations of the classical novel, like Bāṇa's *Kādambarī*.

The Jainas have not only the great merit of having preserved to us innumerable stories by including them in their religious literature. They have also shown the greatest interest in the most important works of profane narrative literature. It has been shown by Prof. Hertel that the most popular recensions of the *Pañcatantra* are the works of Jainas. It was probably a Jaina to whom we owe the so-called "Textus simplicior" of the *Pañcatantra*, and the Jaina monk Pūrṇabhadra completed in 1199 the *Pañcākhyānaka* or the *Pañcatantra* in the "Textus ornatior". Another Jaina monk, Meghavijaya, compiled in 1660, the *Pañcākhyānoddhāra* which calls itself an extract from the *Pañcākhyāna*, "compiled for the easier grasp of boys", but has added a number of stories which are not found in other versions of the *Pañcatantra*. The best text of the *Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśikā* that has come down to us, is again the Jaina recension. That the most amusing collection of mugdhakathās, the *Bharaṭakadvātriṃśikā*, an Indian 'Book of Noodles', is the work of a Jaina author, has been rendered probable by Prof. Hertel in his edition of the work (Leipzig 1921).

§ 6) Kāvyas and Mahākāvyas, too, have been composed by Jaina poets.

An epic poem like Māgha's *S'iśupālavadha* is the Mahākāvya *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya* of Harichandra (edited in Kāvyamālā, 8, 1888), in which the story of Dharmanātha, the fifteenth Tīrthakara, is told. Harichandra who must have lived after 900 A.D.[1] is probably also the author of the *Jīvandharacampū*, in which the legend of Jīvandhara is told after Guṇabhadra's *Uttara-purāṇa*. Another mahākāvya is the *Neminirvāṇa* of Vāgbhaṭa (edited in Kāvyamālā 56, 1896), treating of the legend of Neminātha. The same legend is treated in the *Nemidūta* of Vikrama (edited in Kāvyamālā, Part II, pp. 85–104), a *Samasyāpūraṇa*, the last line of each stanza being taken from Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. An older work of that kind is Jinasena's *Pārśvābhyudaya*, a poetical biography of Pārśvanātha, in which the whole *Meghadūta* is included, one or two lines of every stanza being taken from Kālidāsa's poem.[2] Other epic poems are the *Yaśodharacarita* of Kanakasena Vādirāja (11th cent.), the *Mṛgāvatīcaritra* of Maladhārī Devaprabha (13th cent). an interesting version of the stories of Udayana and his wives Vāsavadattā and Padmāvatī[3]

1 See E. Hultzch, Indian Antiquary, 35, p. 268.

2 The *Meghadūta* as embodied in the *Pārśvābhyudaya* with the Commentary of Mallinātha, with a literal English Translation, ed. by K. B. Pathak, Poona, 1894.

3 A Jaina version of the Udayana story is also found in the *Kumārapālapratibodha* of Somaprabha, s. P.D. Gune, Pradyota, Udayana and Śreṇika—a Jain Legend: Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, Vol. II, pp. 1 ff.

and the *Mahīpālacaritra* of Cāritrasundara (about the middle of the 15th cent.), in which a number of popular tales and Jaina legends are combined into a Kāvya. A contemporary of Hemacandra was Haribhadra who wrote the *Nemināthacaria* in Apabhraṃśa and the *Mallināthacarita* in Prākrit. The *Nemināhacaria* was written in the year of Kumārapāla's con version to Jinism (1159 A.D.). Part of the *Nemi nāhacaria* is the *Sanatkumāracarita*, which has lately been published by Prof. Jacobi.[1]

But the Jainas have not only written *religious* Kāvyas. The Digambara Jaina Dhanañjaya Śrutakīrti was ambitious enough to prove his mastership in Śleṣas by writing a *Dvisandhānakāvya Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* (between 1123 and 1140 A.D.), in which every verse must be interpreted as having two meanings, the one referring to the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the other to that of the *Mahābhārata*.[2] A half-historical poem is the *Dvyāśryakāvya Kumārapālacarita* in which Hemacandra wished to display his skill both in Sanskrit and in Prākrit poetry, as well as his grammatical learning. The Mahākāvya which treats the history of the Caulukyas of Aṇhilvād and especially of Kumārapāla, consists of 20 Sargas written in Sanskrit, and 8 Sargas written in

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1 *Sanatkumāracaritam* ein abschnitt aus Haribhadra's Neminăthacaritam eine Jaina Legende in Apabhraṃs'a herausgegeben von. H. Jacobi, München, 1921.

2 It has been edited with a commentary in Kāvyamālā 49, 1895. The *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* of *Mādhavabhaṭṭa* Kavirāja is a late work, written between 1182 and 1197.

Prākrit, and the poem is also intended to serve as an illustration to the poet's works on Sanskrit and Prākrit grammar.[1] In the 13th, century Arisimha wrote a Mahākāvya *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana* in 11 Sargas "in praise of the good deeds" of Vastupāla the minister of the Vāghelā princes Lawanaprasāda and Vīradhawala, which Bühler[2] has shown to be of some importance for the history of Gujarat. Another Jaina poem, the *Jagaḍūcarita* of Sarvānanda (14th cent.), is of little poetical value, but has also some historical importance.[3] In the 15th, century the Jaina Nayacandra wrote a historical poem *Hammīra-kāvya*, which tells of the heroic feats of Hammīra in his fight against the Muhammedans.[4]

§ 7) Lyrical and didactic poetry also are well represented in the literature of the Jainas.

Jaina poets have composed Stotras both in Prākrit and in Sanskrit, some of them in the most artificial Kāvya style. Old Prākrit Stotras are the *Uvasaggaharastotra*, a hymn on Pārśva, of Bhadrabāhu, and the *Ṛṣimaṇḍala Stotra* of Dharmaghoṣa. A collection of Jaina Stotras has been published in the *Kāvyamālā*, Part. VII,

1 Extracts from the Sanskrit part of the poem are given by J. Burgess, Ind. Ant. 4, 1875. The Prākṛta Dvyās'raya Kāvya has been edited by Shankar P. Pandit, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. 60, 1900.

2 Das *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana* des Arisiṃha, Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, 1889.

3 See G. Bühler, Indian Studien I, The *Jagaḍucarita* of Sarvananda, a historical romance from Gujarat, Sizungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, 1892.

4 See N. J. Kirtane, Ind. Ant. 8, 55 ff.

1889. Here we find the famous *Bhaktāmarastotra* of Mānatuṅga, a Sanskrit poem in praise of the Jaina Ṛṣabha. This was imitated by Siddhasena Divākara in his *Kalyāṇamandira* Stotra. Another hymn on Ṛṣabha is the *Ṛṣabhapañcāṣikā* of Dhanapāla, a Prākrit poem in 50 stanzas written in a very artificial style, but not without poetical beauty. Dhanapāla's brother Śobhana is the author of a Stotra in praise of the 24 Jinas (*S'obhanastuti*) in which he is anxious to display his skill im employing the most difficult metres and alaṃkāras. Hemacandra also composed a a *Vītarāgastotra* and two *Mahāvīrasvāmistotras*.

As to didactic poetry, it is, of course, largely represented in the books of the canon. Of non-canonical works one of the oldest is the *Uvaesamālā*[1] a collection of 540 Prākrit verses containing moral instructions both for laymen and monks, by Dharmadāsa. Well known are the didactic poems of Amitagati. He wrote his *Subhāṣitaratnasaṃdoha*[2] in 994 A.D. a work of great importance for our knowledge of Jaina ethics, and 20 years later (1014 A.D.) the *Dharmaparīkṣā*[3] which contains not only moral maxims but also a great number of interesting and amusing stories.

1 Edited by L. P. Tessitori in Giornale della Societa Asiatica Haliana, 25, 192, 167–297.

2 Edited in Kāvyamālā 82; also with a German translation by R. Schmidt and J. Hertel in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Ges. 59, 1905 and 61, 1907.

3 N. Mironow has given an analysis of this work in his dissertation "Die *Dharmaparīkṣā* des Amitagati", Leipzig, 1903. See also R. G. Bhandarkar's Report on Sanskrit MSS. for 1884-87, pp. 13 ff., 134 ff.

In both his works Amitagati is often very satirical in his criticism of Brāhmaṇic religion. A book of the same kind as the *Subhāṣitaratnasamdoha* is the *Yoga S'āstra* of Hemacandra.[1] For this is not a work on Yoga merely in the sense of concentration, nor is it connected with the Yoga system of philosophy, but Hemacandra uses the term Yoga in the more general sense of religious effort, including the whole duty of a pious Jaina of which meditation is only one part. Other works of didactic poetry are the *S'ṛṅgāravairāgyataraṅgiṇī* and the *Sindūraprakara* of Somaprabha.[2]

Anthologies of moral maxims have also been compiled by Jainas, such as the *Gāthākośa* of Municandrasūri (died 1122 A.D.), the *Gāthā Sahasrī* of Samayasundara, and the Prākrit *Bhavavairāgyaśataka*,[3] in which the religion of Mahāvīra is recommended as the only remedy against the evils of Saṁsāra. An Anthology of Prākrit verses that is not written from the Jinistic point of view is the *Vajjālagga* of the Śvetāmbara

1 Edition by the Muni Mahārāja Śrī Dharmavijaya Sūri in Bibliotheca Indica, 1907 and partly by E. Windizch, with a German translation in Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenl. Ges. 28, 1874, 185 ff and by F. Belloni-Filippi with an Italian translation, in Giornale della Societa Asiatica Italiana, 21, 1908, 123 ff.

2 Edited in Kāvyamālā, Part V, 1888, 124 ff. and in Part VII, 1890.

3 Edited and translated into Italian by L. P. Tessitori in Giornale della Soc. As. Ital. 22, 179 ff. and 24, 405 ff. Also edited in Vol. III of the *Prakaraṇaratnākara*, edited by Bhīmasiṃha Māṇaka, Bombay, 1876 ff.

Jaina Jayavallabha[1] who states himself that it was his intention to collect the sayings of famous poets on Dharma, Artha and Kāma. But the greater part of the anthology which consists of nearly 700 Āryā verses in Jaina-Māhārāṣṭri is on the subject of Kāma. An anthology of allegorical verses is the *Anyoktimuktāvalī* of Haṃsavijaya Gaṇī (written in 1679 A.D.).[2]

The Jainas do not seem to have made much use of Dramatic poetry for religious purposes. I know only of one drama with a Jaina tendency, the *Mohaparājaya* of Yaśaḥpāla which treats of the conversion of King Kumārapāla to Jinism.[3] Dramatical works by Jaina authors which I have seen are the *Mudritakumudacandraprakaraṇa* by Yaśascandra, the son of Śrīpadmacandra, a drama in 5 acts, and the *Nirbhayabhīmavyāyoga* of Rāmacandrasūri, the pupil of Hemacandra.[4] In 1230 A.D. the Jaina poet Jayasiṃha wrote a quasi-historical drama, the *Hammīramadamardana* in which is shown how the pride of Hammīra, i. e. the Amir Shikār of Sultan Samsu-d-dunyā (died 1235 A. D.) was humbled.[5]

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1 Ed. by J. Laber, Bibl. Ind. Fasc. I, 1914; Fasc. II. 1923.

2 Edited in Kāvyamālā 88, 1907; see also A. Guerinot, Journal Asiatique, 1909, s. 10, t XIV, 47 f.

3 Edited by Muni Chaturavijayaji and C. D. Dalal, Baroda, 1918. I have not seen it myself.

4 They have been edited in the Śrī-Yaśovijaya-Jaina-Granthamālā, Nrs. 8 and 19.

5 See R. G. Bhandarkar's Second Report on Sanskrit Manscripts 16ff., 72ff.

Many of the poetical works of the Jainas are composed in *Apabhraṃśa*, and our knowledge of the Apabhraṃśa dialects is to a great extent derived from these works, only some of which have hitherto been published, while many more exist still in manuscripts.[1]

§ 8) Scientific and Technical literature of the Jainas

Most valuable contributions have been made by Jainas to Indian *Scientific and technical literature*.

There are two canonical works, the *Sūriyapaṇṇatti*[2] in which astronomical and geographical subjects are treated, though more from a legendary point of view. But the *Sūriyapaṇṇatti*, is important as belonging like the Jyotiṣavedāṅga to a stage of Indian astronomy which was not yet influenced by the astronomical science of the Greeks.[3] In the *Nandī* and the *Aṇuogadāra* we find allusions to *Alaṃkāraśāstra*, *Arthaśāstra*, and *Kāmaśāstra*.

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1. *Hist. Ind. Lit.* Vol. II, pp. 511, 532, 543, 570 ff., 589, 637; see also Rai Bahadur Hiralal, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākrit Mss., Nagpur, 1926, p. XLIII ff.
2. An edition of the *Jambuddīvapaṇṇatti* by W. Kirfel is to be published by the Jaina press in Ahmedabad. An account of Jaina Cosmography has been given by the same scholar in his "Kosmographie der Inder", Bonn–Leipzig, 1920, pp. 208 ff. On Jaina geography see also Count F. L. Pulle, la cartografia antica dell' India (Studi italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica, Vol. IV), Firenze, 1901 pp. 14 f., 19 f., 35 ff.
3. On the achievements of the Jainas in astronomy see also E. Leumann in Actes du sixieme congres internats des Orientalists tenu en 1883 a Leide, III, p. 552 ff. A Jaina summary of astrology is the *Jyotiṣasāroddhāra* by Harṣakīrtisūri, the disciple of Candrakīrtisūri (see India Office Catalogue V, pp. 1063f.).

As Jaina poets have written works of poetry in high-flown Kāvya style, it is only natural that Jaina scholars have also occupied themselves with the *Alaṃkāraśāstra.* There are two authors of the name of Vāgbhaṭa, probably both Jainas, who have written on Alaṃkāra. The earlier of the two is Vāgbhaṭa, son of Soma, who wrote the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* in ślokas (edited in *Kāvyamālā* 48, 1895). He lived in Gujarat at the time of King Jayasimha (1093-1154). Later though perhaps not much later, is Vāgbhaṭa, the son of Nemikumāra, who wrote a *Kāvyānuśāsana Sūtra* with a commentary of his own (edited in *Kāvyamālā* 43, 1894).[1] Hemacandra also has written an *Alaṃkāraśāstra* with the title *Kāvyānuśāsana* in Sūtras with his own commentary, called *Alaṁkāracūḍāmaṇi* (edited in *Kāvyamālā* 71, 1901).

The Jainas have their own grammatical Śāstras. The oldest grammar, closely following that of Pāṇini, is the *Jainendravyākaraṇa.*[2] The real author of this grammar, ascribed to Jinendra is Pūjyapāda Devanandin who, according to R. G. Bhandarkar (Early History of the Dekkan, 2nd. Ed. p. 59), lived about 678 A.D.,

1 Th. Aufrecht and others speak only of one Vāgbhaṭa. But A. Weber (Verzeichnis der Handschriften II, 3, p. 1208) has already distinguished the two Vāgbhaṭas. See also E. Bernheimer in Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Ges. 63, p. 808, n. 1 and Colonel Jacob, JRAS 1897, 308f.

2 Edited with the commentary of Abhayanandi Muni in the Pandit N. S. Vols. 31–34. Another commentary, *Śabdārṇavacandrikā,* was written by Somadeva in 1205 A. D.

while B. Lewis Rice (JRAS 1890, 245 ff.) would place him about the middle of the 5th, century A. D. Later than this grammar is the *Śākaṭāyanavyākaraṇa*[1] the grammar of Śākaṭāyana, which was written in the time of Amoghavarṣa I (814–877 A. D.). He is sometimes called "the new Śākaṭāyana" to distinguish him from the Śākaṭāyana mentioned by Pāṇini.[2] The grammar of Hemacandra called *Siddhahemacandra* or *Haimavyākaraṇa*, is nothing but an improved edition of Śākaṭāyana's grammar. Yet F. Kielhorn, the first authority on Indian grammar in Europe, calls it "the best grammar of the Indian middle-ages".[3] For it is arranged in a more practical manner and has a more practical terminology than the grammars of Pāṇini, Candragomin and Śākaṭāyana. Hemacandra wrote his grammar on the order of King Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (whence it is called "*Siddhahemacandra*"),

1 Edited by J. Oppert, Madras, 1893, new edition with a commentary of Abhayacandra Sūri, London, 1913, the Sūtra with a Laghuvṛtti also in the Pandit, N. S., Vols. 34, 35,. See also V. S. Sukthaṅkar, Die Grammatik Śākaṭāyana's (Adhy. 1, Pāda 1) nebst Yakṣavarman's Kommentar (Cintāmaṇi), Berlin, 1921 (disssertation).

2 Perhaps *Śākaṭāyana* is only a name given to, or adopted by, the author of this grammar, to identify him with the predecessor of *Pāṇini* honoris causâ. About the date of the grammar s. K. B. Pathak in Annals of Bhandarkar Institute I, 1918–1919, pp. 7 ff.

3 Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 2, p. 24.

who had procured for him eight older grammatical works from the library of the temple of Sarasvatī in Kashmir. The author wrote himself two commentaries on his work, a shorter and a longer one, besides an *Uṇādigaṇa Sūtra*, a *Dhātupāṭha* and a *Liṅgānuśāsana*. The eighth chapter of the *Siddhahemacandra* contains the Prākrit grammar.[1] Though in the latter Hemacandra has extensively copied from the works of his predecessors, it is the most important Prākrit grammar we possess. It is very complete, and instructive also on account of the numerous examples, taken from older grammars. In his rules on Māhārāṣṭrī he quotes from the *Sattasaī* and *Setubandha*; for the Paiśācī he gives us some passages from the lost *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya; and for the Apabhraṃśa he cites a number of otherwise unknown little songs similar to those of the *Sattasaī*. Trivikrama who wrote his *Prākritaśabdānuśāsana* in Sūtras with his own commentary in the thirteenth century, is, as he himself avows, quite dependent on Hemacandra.

The same Hemacandra is also the renowned author of lexicographical works which he compiled as supplements to his grammar. A synonymic Kośa is the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇināmamālā*[2] to which he himself wrote a commentary and several appendices. One of these is the *Nighaṇṭuśeṣa*, a botanical glossary in 396 ślokas. He also wrote a homonymic Kośa, the *Anekār-*

1 It has been edited by R. Pischel, Halle, 1877-80.

2 Edited by O. Bohtlingk and Ch. Rieu, St. Petersburg, 1847.

thasaṃgraha.[1] The oldest Prākrit lexicon is the work of a Jaina, viz. the *Pāiyalacchī Nāmamālā*[2] of Dhanapāla, composed in 972 A. D. The *Pāiyalacchī* has been used by Hemacandra in his *Deśīnāmamālā*[3] to which, as to his other works, he has also written a commentary of his own.

§ 9) Philosophical works of the Jainas

In Philosophy the Jainas have developed an original system, the Syādvāda which takes a distinct position between the Brāhmanic and Buddhist philosophical systems. This has been shown vary clearly by Jacobi in his paper on "the Metaphysics and Ethics of the Jainas", read at the third international Congress for the History by Religions in London 1908 (Transactions, Vol. II. p. 59 ff.) As Prof. Jacobi says, the Jaina Syādvāda or "Doctrine of may be" is the statement of the common sense view, as opposed both to the Vedāntic doctrine that there is only one without a second, and the Buddhist theory of transitoriness. According to Jaina metaphysics "any metaphysical proposition is right from one point of view, and the contrary position is also right from another." *syād asti sarvam, syād nāsti sarvam*—"may be that everything is, may be that everything is not." As Jaina thinkers always sided with the common-sense views, it is only natural that they were attracted by the systems of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika. There is even a tradition that the Vaiśeṣika system was founded by a

1 Edited by Th. Zachariae, Vienna, 1893.

2 Edited by G. Bühler, Gottingen, 1879.

3 Edited by R. Pischel, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. 17, 1880.

Jaina, Chaluya Rohagutta of the Kauśika Gotra, a pupil of Mahāgiri, the eighth Sthavira after Mahāvīra. But the system alluded to in the passage of the *Āvaśyaka* where this tradition occurs, is that of Kaṇāda's *Vaiśeṣikadarśana*. And there is little doubt that Rohagupta merely adopted Vaiśeṣika theories for the purposes of his own systematical teaching[1]. In the Jaina canon, and still more in the Niryukti of Bhadrabāhu we find also some elements of logic. But we cannot be sure whether the elements of logic found in canonical texts belong to the oldest parts of the canon that may go back to the 4th, or 3rd, century B. C., or to those parts of it that are nearer the time of Devarddhi (about 450 A. D.), while, thus, it is not at all likely that Vaiśeṣika and the Nyāya systems owe their origin to Jaina thinkers, it is certain that Jaina authors have made very valuable contributions to Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika studies. What the Mahāmahopādhya Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa has described as the "Mediaeval School of Indian Logic" is the logic of Jainas and Buddhists. Already Umāsvāti whom Prof. Suali[2] would place as early as about 300 A. D., in his *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* expounds a doctrine of categories and a theory of Pramāṇas (means of proof).

But the first Jaina author who has written a work on systematic logic, is Siddhasena

1 See Jacobi, Sacred Books of the East, Vol. 45, pp. xxxvii f.

2 Luigi Suali, Introduzioneallo studio della Filosofical Indiana, Pavia, 1913, p. 36.

Divākara. He wrote the *Nyāyāvatāra*[1] a treatise on the means of proof (pramāṇa) and the methods (naya) of comprehending things from particular standpoints, in 32 Sanskrit Ślokas. Siddhasena Divākara is said by the Jainas to have converted King Vikramāditya to Jainism 470 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. Relying on this tradition, Vidyābhūṣaṇa dates Vikramāditya and consequently also Siddhasena Divākara about 533 A. D., taking it for granted that Vikramāditya of Ujjain is identical with Yaśodharmadeva of Malwa who defeated the Huns in 533 A. D. Moreover, he is "inclined to believe that Siddhasena was no other than Kṣapaṇaka (a Jain sage) who is traditionally known to the Hindus to have been one of the nine Gems that adorned the court of Vikramāditya[2]". Now there is not the slightest proof for Kṣapaṇaka who is known as a lexicographer[3] being identical with Siddhasena. Nor is there any proof for Yaśodharman having adopted the title of Vikramāditya, and no king of this title is known to have lived at the time of Varāhamihira. What we know for certain is that the Gupta kings Candragupta II (375-413 A. D.) and his grandson Skandagupta (455-480 A. D.) had adopted the title of Vikramāditya. And if we

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1 It has been edited with the commentary *Nyāyāvatāravivṛti* and an English Translation, by Satish Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Calcutta, 1909.

2 History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic, Calcutta, 1909, p. 15.

3 See Zachariae, Die indischen Wortrebucher im Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie, I, 313, § 13.

attach any importance to the Jaina tradition at all, we shall have to make Siddhasena the contemporary of one of these Kings. As there is a very strong tradition about Kālidāsa having lived at the court of a King Vikramāditya, and there are good reasons for making Kālidāsa the contemporary of Candragupta II, Siddhasena would also have to be placed somewhere between 375 and 413 A. D. But all this is very doubtful, as all arguments must needs be that are based on traditions about the great Vikramāditya who is for more a legendary than a historical personage. But if, as Vidyābhūṣaṇa tells us[1], a Siddhasena Divākara is quoted by Siddhasena Gaṇi, and if we believe the tradition according to which the latter was a contemporary of Dewardhi Gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa (about 453 A. D.), this would agree well with the hypothesis of Siddhasena Divākara having flourished in the time of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. The *Nyāyāvatāra* contains all essential elements of logic which through the works on Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika have become the common property of all schools, but it shows, as Prof. Suali thinks,[2] more particularly the influence of Vaiśeṣika and Buddhist doctrines.

Siddhasena Divākara was a Śvetāmbara Jaina. To the Digambara sect of Southern India belongs Samantabhadra who wrote a commentary on the *Tattvārthadhigamasūtra*, called *Gendhahasti-mahābhāṣya*, the first part of which is

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1 Mediaeval School of Indian Logic, p. 22.

2 Introduzione etc., p. 38.

the *Devāgamastora*, better known as *Āptamīmāṃsā* which contains many discussions on logical principles and gives a review of the Advaitavāda and other systems of philosophy. The *Āptamīmāṃsā* is quoted by Vācaspatimiśra (about 850 A. D.). The works of Samantabhadra were commented on by Prabhācandra, a pupil of Akalaṅka. We have the inscription on the tomb of Prabhācandra which on palæographical grounds cannot be later than 750 A. D[1]. On the other hand, Prabhācandra quotes Bāṇa, Bhartṛhari, Kumārila and the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti, none of whom is later than about 650 or 700 A. D. We shall therefore not be far wrong when we place Akalaṅka and his pupil Prabhācandra between 650 and 750, while Samantabhadra must be still earlier. Prabhācandra wrote the *Nyāyakumudacandrodaya* and the *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa*. The later is a commentary on the *Parīkṣāmukhasūtra*[2] of Māṇikya Nandi, who was a contemporary of Prabhācandra. He, too, belongs to the Digambara sect. He is dependent on Akalaṅka.

The Śvetāmbara Jaina Mallavādin wrote a commentary on Dharmottara's *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*, called *Dharmottaraṭippaṇi*[3]. Dharmottara and

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1 See Fleet, Epigraphia Indica, Vol. 4, pp. 22ff, who even thinks the 7th century as a more probable date of the inscription.

2 It has been edited by Satish Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa in Bibliotheca Indica, 1909 (N. S. No. 1709).

3 Edited by T. Stcherbatskoi, Bibliotheca Buddhica, Vol. XI., 1909.

probably also Mallavādin were[1] contemporaries of Jayāpīda of Kashmir (end of 8th century). It is owing to this commentary that the Jainas were interested in copying Manuscripts of the *Nyāyabindu* and the *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*. Thus we are indebted to the Jainas for having preserved to us the Sanskrit originals of these important Buddhist works on logic, while the other Buddhist texts on logic have come down to us only in their Tibetan translations.

I must refer the reader to Vidyābhūṣaṇa's book on the "Medieval School of Indian Logic" for the other Jaina authors and works on logic. I will only mention Deva Sūri (1086–1169 A. D.) the author of the *Pramāṇanayatattvālokālaṃkāra* with his own commentary, called *Syādvādaratnākara*. He vanquished the Digambara Kumudacandrācārya in a dispute on the salvation of women which took place in 1124 A. D. Hemacandra also wrote a work on logic, the *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā* in Sūtras with his own commentary. A Jaina Jayasiṃha Sūri has written a commentary on the *Nyāyasāra* of Bhāsarvajña, a Brāhmanical author who, however, was strongly influenced by Buddhist and Jaina logic. Even as late as the seventeenth century (between 1608 and 1688) we meet with a learned Śvetāmbara Jaina Yaśovijaya Gaṇi who wrote a great number of works onl ogic[2].

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1 See Prof. Hultzsch, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Ges. 69, 278 f.

2 See S. Ch. Vidyābhūṣaṇa in Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, N. S. 6, 1910, p. 463 ff.

But the philosophical interests of the Jainas were not limited to Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika. This is shown a remarkable way by Haribhadra whose *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*[1] is an admirably unbiassed account of the systems of philosophy, not the Ṣaḍdarśana as it is generally understood as meaning the six orthodox systems, but those of Buddhism, Nyāya, Sāṃkhya, Jaina, Vaiśeṣika and Pūrvamīmāṃsā, with an Appendix on the materialistic system of Cārvāka. Another philosophical tract of his, the *Lokatattvanirṇaya* in Sanskrit verses[2], is also quite impartial towards other creeds. Haribhadra even says here, that he did not consider the Venerable One his friend, nor other teachers his enemies that he had no partiality for Mahāvīra, and no hatred against Kapila and other philosophers, and was prepared to adopt that doctrine which was the true one[3]. There is no reason to ascribe these philosophical works to a later Haribhadra of the twelfth century, as Vidyābhūṣaṅa does[4] who argues that the great Haribhadra whom he dates in the fifth century, could not have referred to such authors as Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. This difficulty is removed, if we accept the 8th century for the first Haribhadra (s. above).

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1 Edited, with the commentary of Guṇaratna, by L. Suali in Bibliotheca Indica, 1905

2 Edited and translated into Italian by L. Suali in giornale Soc. as. It. 18, 263 ff.

3 See L. de La Valle'e Poussin, Journal asiatique 1911, s. 10, 1. XVII, p. 323 ff.

4 Mediaeval School of Indian Logic, p. 48 f.

That the Jainas showed such impartiality to other systems, makes their philosophical literature valuable to us.

§ 10) **The Jainas have treated all branches of science.**

There is hardly any branch of science that has not been treated by Jainas. In the *Nandī* and the *Aṇuogadāra* we meet with a long list of what is called 'false tradition' (mithyāśrutam) or 'worldly' (laukika) sciences, including amongst others the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra, the Kāmasūtra, Ghoṭakamukha, Vaiśeṣika, Buddhaśāsana, Kāpila, Lokāyata, Mathematics. These late canonical books (the *Nandī* is ascribed to Devarddhi, the compiler of the canon in the 5th cent. A. D.) contain also entire sections dealing with such objects as Kāvyarasa, grammar, division of time, etc.

The Jainas have shown great interest in mathematics and composed many good works on this subject.

In medical science the Buddhists seem to have had greater interest than the Jainas. But the oldest dated work on mercurial treatment of diseases is a commentary composed in 1386 A.D. by the Jaina Merutuṅga on Kāṅkāyana's *Rasādhyāya*. Between 1535 and 1668 the Jaina Harṣakīrtisūri compiled a collection of prescriptions, the *Yogacintāmaṇi Vaidyakasāra-saṃgraha.*[1]

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1 **See J. Jolly, Medicin, in Grundriss III, 10, 1901 p. 3.**

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The Dharmaśāstra has always been the domain of the Brahmans, and the Jainas do not seem to have produced anything in this śāstra.

§ 11) Jaina works on politics.

It is surprising that the Jainas have paid special attention to the Arthaśāstra which is "a worldly science" par excellence. Jaina legends, as told in Hemacandra's *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, make Cāṇakya, the minister of Candragupta Maurya, a devout Jaina. If this legend had any historical back-ground (which I doubt), and if the author of the *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra* were really identical with Candragupta's minister (which I doubt even more), one might think that the famous *Arthaśāstra* was somehow connected with the Jainas. But it is not at all proved that the *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra* can really be ascribed to Candragupta's minister. It is far more probable that it belongs to the early centuries after Christ. The whole tendency of the *Arthaśāstra* as far as religious matters are touched, is thoroughly Brahmanical. There is only one passage where one could be inclined to think of Jaina or Buddhist influences. Here (Shama Sastri's 2nd. Ed. p. 409, XIII, 14, 176) we read:

चातुर्मास्येष्वर्धमासिकमघातं पौर्णमासीषु च चातूरात्रिकं राजदेशनक्षत्रेष्वैकरात्रिकं योनिबालवधं पुंस्त्वोपघातं च प्रतिषेधयेत् ।

"He (viz. a king who wishes to pacify a conquered country) should prohibit the killing, of animals on the Cāturmāsyas for half a month, on full-moon festivals for four days, on the asterisms sacred to the King or to the country for one day; and he should also prohibit the killing of

female and young animals and castration". But this may refer merely to the pacification of a country in which part of the inhabitants are Jainas or Bauddhas, though even in the Brahmanic Dharmaśāstras Ahiṃsā is proclaimed as a virtue, and the rule of Kauṭilya may mean no more than that a king should try to win the sympathies of his new subjects by showing himself as a mild and virtuous ruler.

In the Durganiveśa chapter of the Kauṭilīya (p. 55 f) we are told that in the centre of the city sheds should be erected for Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta and Vaijayanta and temples for Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, the Aśvins, Śrī and Madurā. Shama Sastri has compared to this passage the list of Anuttara gods mentioned in the *Uttarajjhayaṇa:* Vijayas, Vijayantas, Jayantas, Aparājitas and Sarvārthasiddhas. And it seems to be a general opinion that Jaina deities are meant here. But if we compare the two passages, we shall see that only three of the names correspond to one another. Aparājita, Vaijayanta and Jayanta, while Apratihata has nothing corresponding in the *Uttarajjhayaṇa*, and Sarvārthasiddha has nothing corresponding in the Kauṭilīya. There is, however, no reason at all to see in these names in the *Arthaśāstra* the names of Jaina deities. For Aparājita, Jayanta and Vaijayanta are also names of Skanda and other Hindu deities, while Apratihata is an otherwise unknown name. It is most likely, as my pupil Dr. Stein[1] has shown, that we have to think in

1 Dr. Otto Stein, Megasthenes und Kauṭilya, Wien 1921, p. 295 f.

the Kauṭilīya passage of some Hindu war deities, whose worship in a fortress seems as appropriate, as their names "Invincible", "Irresistible", "Victorious" and "Bringer of Victory" (or "Banner") are significant. There are also a few other passages in the *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra* where some technical terms (which, however, have nothing at all to do with Jaina religion) occur that are also found in Jaina Aṅgas or commentaries, as Shama Sastri has pointed out[1]. But the terms in question are taken from the *S'ilpaśāstra*, which may have been known to the authors of the Jaina texts. We are not entitled to conclude from this, as Professor Jacobi has done[2], "that the Kauṭilīya must have been written near the time of the composition of the Jaina canon". It seems to me that we have no reason to see any connexion between the *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra* and the Jaina literature.

It is, however, very noteworthy that the Jainas have at least two works on Arthaśāstra. The one is the *Nītivākyāmṛta* of Somadeva Sūri, the reputed author of the *Yaśastilaka* (written about 959 A.D.). The other is the *Laghvarhannītiśāstra* of Hemacandra.

The *Nītivākyāmṛta* of Somadevasūri, has been published in the Bombay 1887/8. Professor Jolly[3] has given a number of parallel texts from this work to the *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra*,

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1 Notes to his (2nd) Edition pp. 46, 52 f, 55-57, 59 and 61.

2 Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländ Ges. 74, 254 f.

3 Zeitschrift der Dentschen Morgenl. Ges. 69, 369 ff.

and M. Vallauri has quoted some passages from it in his Italian translation of the first Adhikaraṇa of the Kauṭilīya[1]. From these quotations it appeared, as if the *Nītivākyāmṛta* had largely and unduly copied from the Kauṭilīya or were a kind of paraphrase of it. But in looking over the book as a whole, we find that it is really very different from the Kauṭilīya and very far from being a mere plagiarism. It is true that Somadeva has taken many passages literally or almost literally from the Kauṭilīya and that in other cases he has paraphrased the words of Kauṭilya. Somadeva probably thought that his readers would recognise the passages in question as being quoted from what must have been the standard work on Arthaśāstra at his time. If he had written in English, he would perhaps have marked these passages by inverted commas. For Indian readers this was unnecessary. Prof. Jolly has, however, already pointed out, that the *Nītivākyāmṛta* differs from the *Kauṭilīya* in some important details.

But above all the character of the two books is quite different. The Kauṭilīya is a pure Arthaśāstra, in which dharma is only acknowledged in so far as it may also contribute to the acquirement of artha, while in the *Nītivākyāmṛta* the term nīti is used not only in the sense of "political wisdom" but also of "moral conduct". It begins almost like a Dharmaśāstra with the words: अथ धर्मार्थफलाय राज्याय नमः। यतोऽभ्युदयनिःश्रेयससिद्धिः स धर्मः। अधर्मः पुनरेतद्विपरीतफलः।

1 Rivista degli studi Oriental, VI, Roma 1915, p. 1317 ff.

"Now, then, salutation to kingship whose fruits are dharma and artha. That from which both prosperity and final beatitude are obtained is called dharma. Adharma, however, is that which bears results contrary to this". Liberality and ascetic exercises are recommended in the first chapter. Somadeva says (p. 3 f.): प्रत्यहं किमपि नियमेन प्रयच्छतस्तपस्यतो वा भवन्त्यवश्यं महीयांसः परे लोकाः । कालेन संचीयमानः परमाणुरपि जायते मेरुः । धर्मश्रुतधनानां लवोऽपि प्रतिदिनं संगृह्यमाणो भवति समुद्रादप्यधिकः ।

"If he bestows gifts or devotes himself to austerities only a little every day according to rule, he will surely obtain the very highest other worlds. Even atoms when accumulated grow to be Mount Meru in time. Even if only a small particle of religious merit, of learning, or of wealth, be collected every day, it grows greater even than the ocean." And the whole work is not like *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra* a practical hand-book of politics and economics, but rather a book of good counsels for kings. Even when in the *Nītivākyāmṛta* the same subjects are treated as in the Kauṭilīya, we find that Somadeva gives more general rules of conduct where Kauṭilya insists on the details of political practice. What is important for Kauṭilya is of more or less secondary importance for Somadeva. In the chapter on war, for instance, we find nothing about all those technical details on military matters that are found in the Kauṭilīya, but only various good counsels how to wage war. Following the list of Prakṛtis exactly as given by Kauṭilya (V, 6, 96, p. 257): 'स्वाम्यमात्यजनपददुर्गकोशदण्ड-

मित्राणि प्रकृतयः।' Somadeva treats in the chapters 17-23 of the Prakṛtis in the same order. But in the contents of these chapters there is little agreement between the two texts. It it characteristic that the chapters on the fortress, the treasury and the army are among the shortest in the *Nītivākyāmṛta.*

The work consists of the following 32 chapters: 1. Dharmasamuddeśa, 2. Arthasamuddeśa, 3. Kāma, 4. Ariṣaḍvarga, 5. Vidyāvṛddha, 6. Ānvīṣikī, 7. Trayī, 8. Vārtā, 9. Daṇḍanīti, 10. Mantri, 11. Purohita, 12. Senāpati, 13. Dūta, 14. Cāra, 15. Vicāra, 16. Vyasana, 17. Svāmi, 18. Amātya, 19. Janapada, 20. Durga, 21. Kośa, 22. Bala, 23. Mitra, 24. Rājarakṣita, 25. Divasānuṣṭhāna, 26. Sadācāra, 27. Vyavahāra, 28. Vivāda, 29. Ṣāḍguṇya, 30. Yuddha, 31. Vivāhasamuddeśaḥ, 32. Prakīrṇakam.

It is written in good Sanskrit prose, only two ślokas are quoted in the whole book. The diction is clear and simple, with short and pointed sentences (but not in Sūtra style) prevailing. Many of the sentences have the appearance of proverbial sayings. I add a few gleanings from the text which may be of some interest.

There is a slight, but very characteristic differerence between *Kauṭilīya* p. 12 and *Nītivākyāamṛta* chap. III p. 5 f. Kauṭilya says directly that artha is the most important in the trivarga, "for dharma and Kāma are rooted in artha". Somadeva says with a slight nuance (Chap. III p. 6).

धर्मार्थकामानां युगपत्समवाये पूर्वः पूर्वो गरीयान्। कालसहत्वे पुनरर्थ एव। धर्मकामयोरर्थमूलत्वात्।

"In case of a collision between dharma, artha and kāma every preceding one is the more important, but if time does not permit the pursuit of all the three, artha only should be considered because artha is the root of dharma and kāma".

The fifth chapter corresponding to the short second prakaraṇa Vṛddhasaṃyoga in the Kauṭilīya is one of the longest chapters in the *Nītiv.* and gives a full expositon of the duties of a king, without deviating from the Brahmanical point of view, fully acknowledging the svadharma for the different castes and stages of life. It begins (p. 7):

योऽनुकूल-प्रतिकूलयोरिन्द्र-यमस्थानं स राजा। राज्ञो हि दुष्टनिग्रहः शिष्टपरिपालनं च धर्मो न पुनः शिरोमुण्डनं जटाधारणां वा।

"He is a king who takes the place of Indra towards the well-disposed and the place of Yama against the ill-disposed. For the king's duty is to punish the wicked and to protect the learned (and well-behaved), not shaving his head or wearing matted hair". The king has to fulfill his religious duties, such as the Darśapūrṇamāsa and other Brahmanical rites. He should apply himself to the study both of philosophy (ānvīkṣikī) and of the Veda (trayī). p. 10:

अधीयानो ह्यान्वीक्षिकीं कार्याकार्याणां बलाबलं हेतुभिर्विचारयति। न निषीदति व्यसनेषु। नाभ्युदयेन विकार्यते। समधिगच्छति च प्रज्ञावान् वैशारद्यम्। त्रयीं पठन् वर्णाश्रमाचारेष्वतीव प्रगल्भते। जानाति च समस्तामपि धर्माधर्मस्थितिम्।

"For one who studies philosophy examines with reasons the strong and weak points of the practicable and impracticable. He does not despair in calamities, and is not spoilt by good fortune. And as an intelligent man he obtains clearness of insight. By studying the Veda he becomes exceedingly confident with regard to the duties of the castes and stages of life. And he also knows the whole system of right and wrong".

Somadeva defines the term Ānvīkṣikī (p. ii) in the same way as Kauṭilya[1] सांख्ययोगौ लोकायतं चान्वीक्षिकी । but adds: बौद्धार्हतोः श्रुतेः प्रतिपक्षत्वात् ।

"The ānvīkṣikī consists of Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Lokāyata, because the Bauddha and Jaina systems are opposed to the Veda". It is not quite clear what that means. The commentary (pointed in the footnotes of the edition) explains: The Buddha and Jainas Śāstras are not included in the Ānvīkṣikī, because they are opposed to the Veda. The Lokāyata also is opposed to the Veda, yet it has been included, because it is wanted for the care of the body &c." This is really not very logical. It seems that there was the traditional definition of Ānvīkṣikī which Somadeva felt bound to retain. As a Jaina he asked: why should not Bauddha or Jaina system serve the same

1 Kauṭ. p. 6: सांख्यं योगो लोकायतं चेत्यान्वीक्षिकी । It seems plausible enough to conclude from this definition that at the time of the *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra* the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems did not yet exist. But surely they did exist at Somadeva's time, and yet he sticks to the old definition. Can we, then, be so quite certain that Kauṭilya was the first to formulate this definition?

purpose as the Sāṃkhya and the Yoga? His answer, however, is not very satisfactory.

The necessity of the study of the Lokāyata for the king is explained in the following words (p. 14): ऐहिकव्यवहारप्रसाधनपरं लोकायतम् । अधीतलोकायतमतो हि राजा राष्ट्रकण्टकानुच्छेत्तुं यतते । न खल्वेकान्ततो यतीनामनवद्याऽस्ति क्रिया । एकान्तेन कारुण्यपरः करतलगतमप्यर्थं रक्षितुं न क्षमः । प्रशमैकचित्तं को नाम न परिभवति । अपराधकारिषु शमो यतीनां भूषणं न भूपतीनाम् । धिक् तं पुरुषं यस्यात्मशक्त्या न स्तः कोप-प्रसादौ । स जीवन्नपि मृत एव यो न विक्रमति प्रतिकूलेषु ।

"The best means for carrying on the business of this world is the Lokāyata. For a king who has studied the doctrines of the Lokāyata, strives to root out the 'thorns' (i. e. the dangerous elemnts) of the kingdom. Surely the action of those who are nothing but ascetics, is not irreproachable. He who is entirely given up to mercifulness is not capable of preserving even goods that he holds in his hand. Who will not despise one who is only intent on peace of mind? Peace with evildoers is an ornament of ascetics, but not of kings. Shame upon the man who cannot show wrath or favour according to his own will and power. He is dead even when he lives, who is not brave against his enemies".

In the seventh chapter (on the trayī) Somadeva is quite in agreement with the Brahmanical Dharmaśāstras and with the Kauṭilīya (p. 7 f.). But he says more about the Śūdras than Kauṭilya, and dwells upon the duties of "good Śūdras" (sacchūdrāḥ). And though on the whole he acknowledges the svadharma, yet he says (p. 19):

आनृशंस्यममृषाभाषित्वं परस्वनिवृत्तिरिच्छानियमः प्रातिलोम्याविवाहो निषि-

ब्रासु च स्त्रीषु ब्रह्मचर्यमिति सर्वेषां समानो धर्मः । आदित्यालोक इव धर्मः सर्वेषां साधारणः खलु ।

"Kindness, truthfulness, abstaining from the property of others, controlling one's desires, avoiding marriage against the order (of castes), and chastity with regard to forbidden women: such is the moral law common to all men. Like the sun, indeed, is the moral law common to all men".

Quite Brahmanical again is the chapter on the Purohita (p. 43 ff.), where we read, for instance (p. 44): राज्ञो हि मन्त्रि-पुरोहितौ मातापितरौ। अतस्तौ न केषुचिद्वाञ्छितेषु विसूरयेद् दुःखयेद् दुर्विनयेद् वा ।

"For the minister and the Purohita are the king's parents (as it were). Therefore he should not disappoint them in any of their wishes or cause them pain or behave badly against them". The rules for the daily life of the king, as given in the 25th, chapter, are also essentially Brahmanical, as far as they are not merely rules of diet and hygienics. Thus we read in the *Nītivākyāmṛta* (p. 99): सवत्सां धेनुं प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य धर्मासनं यायात् । Compare *Kauṭilīya* p. 38. सवत्सां धेनुं वृषभं च प्रदक्षिणीकृत्योपस्थानं गच्छेत् ।

I may add a few other passages, not mentioned by Professor Jolly in his paper, where we find Somadeva quoting more or less literally from Kauṭilya:

Nītiv. p. 18: परिपालको हि राजा सर्वेषां धर्माणां षष्ठांशमाप्नोति । यदाह वैवस्वतो मनुः । उञ्छषड्भागप्रदानेन वनस्था अपि तपस्विनो राजानं संभावयन्ति। तस्यैव तद् भूयात् यस्तान् गोपायतीति। Compare *Kaut.* p. 23: तस्मादुञ्छषड्भागमारण्यका अपि निर्वपन्ति तस्यैतद्भागधेयं योऽस्मान् गोपायतीति। Compare also *Manusmṛti* 8, 304; 11, 23.

Nītiv. p. 125 : आमं हि पात्रमामेनाभिहतमुभयतः क्षयमेव करोति। ज्यायसा सह विग्रहो हस्तिना पादयुद्धमिव। *Kaut*. p. 68 f : विगृहीतो हि ज्यायसा हस्तिना पादयुद्धमिवाभ्युपैति। समेन चामं पात्रमामेनाहतमिवोभयतः क्षयं करोति।

Nītiv. p. 128: द्वादशवर्षा कन्या षोडशवर्षः पुमान् प्राप्तव्यवहारी। *Kaut*. p. 154: द्वादशवर्षा स्त्री प्राप्तव्यवहारा भवति। षोडशवर्षः पुमान्।

The list of the eight forms of marriage in Nītiv. p. 129 is the same as Kauṭ. p. 151, but Somadeva give more details.

Though Kauṭilya is so extensively quoted, his name is not mentioned in the *Nītivākyāmṛta*. The name of Cāṇakya occurs only once, not as a teacher, however, but only as an example in the Dūtasamuddeśa (p. 52), as having killed Nanda by making use of a tīkṣṇadūta. Very interesting are the definitions of the different kinds of spies in the Cārasamuddeśa (pp. 53-56). The list is longer than in the *Kauṭilīya* (parallel passages given by Jolly l. c. p. 374). How independent Somadeva, in spite of verbal agreement is from Kauṭilya, may be seen by a comparison of the amātyotpatti (Kauṭ. p. 13) with the amātyasamuddeśa (Nītiv pp. 67–75). Some of the most important differences between the *Nītivākyāmṛta* and the *Kauṭilīya* have already been pointed out by Professor Jolly (l. c. 377 f.). Like the Smṛtis the Nītiv. (p. 100 ff) knows the ordeals as part of the judicial procedure, while they are not mentioned at all by Kauṭilya. The list of the twelve kinds of sons in Nītiv. p. 135 agrees more with *Manusmṛti* 9, 159. than with Kauṭ. p. 146. The examples of queens who mur-

dered their husbands found in Nitiv. p. 90 f. are different from those given by Kauṭ. p. 41.

Distinct Jaina teachings are very rare, e. g. p. 99 where the king is told not to carry on any sport which involves killing of living beings: प्राण्युपघातेन कामपि क्रीडां न प्रवर्तयेत् ।

A characteristic feature of the *Nītivākyāmṛta* are the short pointed sentences some of which may be proverbial sayings. Here is a small selection of such sentences.

P. 21: तत्र सदैव दुर्भिक्षं यत्र राजा विसाधयति । समुद्रस्य पिपासायां कुतो हि जगति जलानि । "There is always dearth, where the king constantly exacts taxes. When the sea is thirsty whence shall there be water in the world?"

The king is warned (p. 24) to inflict punishments only for the welfare of the people, not for filling up his own treasure for: स किं राजा वैद्यो वा यः स्वजीवनाय प्रजासु दोषमन्वेषयति । "Is that a king or a physician who looks for offences (or diseases) in men only for his own living ?"

P. 32: स्वामिनाधिष्ठितो मेषोऽपि सिंहायते । "When set to it by his master, even a ram will become a lion".

P. 35: दीप्ते गृहे कूपखननं कीदृशम् । "when the house is on fire, what is the use of digging a well ?"

बुद्धावर्थे युद्धे च ये सहायास्ते कार्यपुरुषाः । खादनवेलायां तु को नाम कस्य न सहायः । श्राद्ध इवाश्रोत्रियस्य न मन्त्रे मूर्खस्याधिकारोऽस्ति । किं नामान्धः पश्येत् । न चान्धेनाकृष्यमाणोऽन्धः समं पन्थानं प्रतिपद्यते ।

"They who are friends in giving intelligent advice, in money matters and in war, are helpful men. Who is not anybody's friend at eating time? As an

unlearned Brahman is not in his place at a Śrāddha, so is a fool at a council. For how could a blind man see? And the blind dragged on by the blind will not find the even road.

P. 92: सुभोजितोऽपि श्वा किमस्थीन् शुचीनाहारान् परिहरति। क्षीराश्रितशर्करापानभोजितश्चाहिर्न कदाचित् परित्यजति विषम्। न खलु कपिः शिक्षाशतेनापि चापल्यं त्यजति। "If a dog be fed ever so well, will it avoid bones and unclean food? Even when a snake is fed with mixture of milk and sugar, it will never give up its poison. Verily, not even after a hundred lessons the monkey will give up his unsteadiness".

P. 96: यो मितं भुङ्क्ते स बहु भुङ्क्ते। "He who eats moderately, eats much".

P. 97 : सर्वं बलवतः पथ्यमिति मत्वा न कालकूटं खादेत्। "Thinking that for the strong one everything is wholesome, one would not eat poison".

Much blood-shed would have been avoided and Europe would have been spared infinite misery, if during the last years Somadeva's wise rule had always been followed. (p. 36) : शस्त्राधिकारिणो न मन्त्राधिकारिणः स्युः। "Military authorities should not be authorities in (political) counsels".

Another feature of the *Nītivākyāmṛta* is the frequent allusion to fables and tales. Thus an Upākhyānaka is quoted (p. 86) to prove that beasts are more thankful than men:

तथा चोपाख्यानकम्। अटव्यां किलान्धकूपे पतितेषु कपिसर्पसिंहाक्षशालिकेषु कृतोपकारः काङ्कायननामा कश्चित् पान्थः विशालायां पुरि तस्मादाक्षशालिकाद् व्यापादनमवाप नाडीजङ्घश्च गौतमादिति। "Once in a forest an ape, a serpent, a lion and a record-officer who had fallen into a well over-grown with plants, were helped out by a certain traveller, Kāṅkāyana

by name; and in the large town this traveller obtained his death from that record-officer; and (in another story) the crow (obtained death) from Gautama". This is one of the numerous stories of the grateful animals and the ungrateful men, found both in Indian and in European folklore[1]. The well-known *Pañcatantra* story of the man who carries a he-goat and is told by some villains, and made to believe, that he is carrying a dog (*Tantrākhyāyika* III, 5) is alluded to in Nītiv. p. 110. किं बहुभिश्छगलः श्वा न क्रियते। An allusion to some fable of a tree and a wild cat is found p. 111 : श्रूयते हि वनस्पतिवनमार्जाराभ्यां साक्षिभ्यामर्थसिद्धिः। Bhavabhūti's drama *Mālatīmādhava* is alluded to (p. 121) : श्रूयते हि किल दूरस्थोऽपि माधवपिता कामन्दकीप्रयोगेण मालतीं माधवाय साधयामास।

It is interesting to find in the Sadācārasamuddeśa (chap. 26.) amongst many moral rules of all kind the old rule न मृतेषु रोदितव्यमश्रुपातसमा हि किल निपतन्ति तेषां हृदयेष्वङ्गाराः "He should not cry over the dead, for as the tears are shed, so burning coals will certainly fall down on their hearts". Compare *Mahābhārata* XI, 1, 40; *Raghuvaṃśa* 8, 85; *Manusmṛti* 3, 226; *Viṣṇusmṛti* 79, 20.

In the last chapter (XXXII, 2) we meet with the term Sāndhivigrahika for the "minister of foreign affairs", which does not occur in the *Kauṭilīya*; but Kalhaṇa is quite familiar with the

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1 Th. Benfey, *Pantschatantra* (Leipzig 1859, I 193 ff.) has collected numerous stories of this kind. But none of the stories about grateful animals and ungrateful men in *Kathāsaritsāgara*, 5, 79 ff., *Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśikā*, *Jātaka* Nrs. 72, 73, 482, 516, is identical with the stories of the *Nītivākyāmṛta*.

term sāndhivigrahika (*Rājataraṅgiṇī* IV, 137, 711; VI 320; VIII, 1304; 2427).

Among the "Miscellanea" of this chapter we find also such things as a list of faults in poetry (काव्यस्य दोषाः), eight kinds of poets, the good qualities of singing, music and dance (गीतस्य गुणाः, वाद्यस्य गुणाः, नृत्यगुणाः).

But I must stop here. I think, these gleanings will suffice to show what an interesting book Somdeva's *Nītivākyāmṛta* is, and that it would well deserve to be critically edited and translated.[1]

An edition of Hemacandra's *Laghvarhannītiśāstra* was published at Ahmedabad 1906.[2] This is an extract of a larger work in Prākrit, the *Bṛhadarhannītiśāstra* which Hemacandra had composed for King Kumārapāla of Gujarat. Only in a few passages the work proves itself as being composed by a Jaina.

Thus in the chapter on war. Though war is not prohibited, yet the King is warned not to enter upon war, before all other means against the enemy have been tried. And when war has been determined on, the King should take care that it should not cause too much loss of lives, and such humane rules as the following are given: "He should not fight with too crude, nor with poisoned, nor with hidden weapons, nor with such as are heated in fire, nor with stones and clods."

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1 A new edition of the *Nītivākyāmṛta* has meanwhile been published at the Nirṇaya Sagar Press, Bombay.

2 J. Hertel has first drawn attention to this work (*Tantrākhyāyoka* Transl., Vol. I, p. 157).

He should not kill an ascetic, nor a Brahman, nor a coward who has thrown away his arms, nor one who is near destruction, nor one who has met with a calamity, nor an eunuch, a naked one, one who has joined his hands, who is not fighting, who sleeps or is ill or is supplicant, or one who holds a blade of grass in his mouth between his teeth, nor a child, nor one who is about to be consecrated (for a sacrifice), nor one who has come (as a guest) to his house". Similar rules are found in the *Manusmṛti* (VII, 91 ff.).

On the whole the *Laghvarhannīti* has more the character of a Dharmaśāstra than that of a Nītiśāstra. But the principal topics of the Nītiśāstra proper are not missing. The first Adhikāra contains instructions and rules of conduct for kings, ministers, generals, and other state officials. This is little different from what we find in the Kauṭilīya and other Nītiśāstras. The second Adhikāra, too, agrees on the whole with the chapters on the six methods of politics (ṣaḍguṇāḥ), as described in the *Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra* and elsewhere. Nīti is said (II, 1, 5) to be threefold, consisting of war, punishment, and judicial procedure. The chapter on daṇḍanīti (II, 2) begins with a quotation from the Jaina canon, viz. The *Sthānāṅgasūtra*, where seven kinds of punishments are enumerated:

तत्र जैनागमे दण्डनीतयः सप्तधा स्मृताः ।
ताः स्युर्हाकारमाकारधिक्काराः परिभाषणम् ॥
मण्डले बन्धनं काराक्षेपणं चाङ्गखण्डनम् ।
अष्टमो द्रव्यदण्डोऽपि स्वीकृतो नीतिकोविदैः ॥

"Seven kinds of punishment are recorded in the Jain tradition. These are: Expression of re-

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gret, prohibition, reproach, reprimand, confinement to a certain district, imprisonment, and corporal punishment, to which the fine is added as the eighth by the masters of politics". This is the only passage where the author refers to a Jaina text. And it is the most remarkable feature of Hemacandra's work, that it is written almost entirely from a Brahmanical point of view, and only in a very few places any reference is made to the Jaina creed. All the privileges of the Brāhmans, as well as the rights and duties of castes according to the Brāhmanic system, are fully acknowledged by the Jaina author. Thus, he is in perfect agreement with the Brāhmanic Dharmaśāstras (see *Gautama* VIII, 12f; XII, 46; *Āpastamba* II, 5, 10, 16; *Baudhāyana*, I, 10, 18, 17f; II 2, 4, 1; *Manu* VIII, 369f; *Nārada* XIV, 9f. and Appendix 41), that neither capital nor corporal punishment should be inflicted on Brāhmans, but that they should be subject only to banishment. But Hemacandra claims the same privilege also for women and ascetics.

He says (I 37) in the chapter on the Kings duties:

अपराधसहस्रेऽपि योषिद्विप्रतपस्विनाम् ।
न वधो नाङ्गविच्छेदस्तेषां कार्यं प्रवासनम् ॥

"Even if they have committed a thousand crimes, a woman, a Brāhman, and an ascetic should be never made to suffer capital punishment, nor cutting off of limbs, but only punishment should be inflicted on them". The same verse occurs, with slight variants, again in the chapter on punishments (II, 2, 10,)

जाते महापराधेऽपि नारिविप्रतपस्विनाम् ।
नाङ्गच्छेदो वधो नैव कुर्यात् तेषां प्रवासनम् ॥

In the third Adhikāra the vyavahāra or civil and criminal law is treated in the same way as in Manu's law-book according to the eighteen titles of law. Prāyaścitta is the subject of the fourth Adhikāra, with which the *Laghvarhannīti* ends. In this chapter it is interesting to find all the Brāhmanic penances, such as pañcagavya and others, by the side of such prāyaścittas as the worship of Jina (Jinapūjā) and tīrthayātrā, by which the pilgrimage to Jaina sanctuaries seems to be meant. On the whole, there can be no doubt, that the State of Kumārapāla, in spite of the king's inclinations towards Jainism, rested on a Brāhmanic foundation, and the Jainaśāstraviśāradas who wished to gain influence in the government, were prudent enough to respect the Brāhmanic institutions and views of life. They contented themselves to temper Brāhmanism here and there with Jaina ethics.

A quotation from the *Bṛhadarhannīti* in Prākrit occurs in the chapter on the law of inheritance (p. 151); and at the end of the Strīgrahaprakaraṇa (p. 215) it is said, that more details may be found in the *Bṛhadarhannītiśāstra*. Is there any hope, that manuscripts of this larger Prākrit work on politics may still be discovered?

This short survey of the contributions of the Jainas to the literature of ancient India, cursory and incomplete as it is, will yet fully bear out the truth of the words which my guru, the

late professor Bühler, has written many years ago.[67]

"In grammar, in astronomy as well as in all branches of belles lettres the achievements of the Jainas have been so great, that even their opponents have taken notice of them, and that some of their works are of importance for European science even to-day. In the South of India where they have worked among the Drāvidian peoples, they have also promoted the development of these languages. The Canārese, Tāmil and Telugu literary languages rest on the foundations created by the Jaina monks. Though this activity has led them far away from their own particular aims, yet it has secured for them an important place in the history of Indian literature and civilisation."

67 G. Bühler, Uber die indische sakte der Jainas (Al. manach der kais. Akademie der wissenschaften, Wien 1887), p. 17 f.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

1. Siddhasena Divākara, the author of *Kalyāṇamandira*, lived before Mānatuṅga. It is the style of writing that is different in different authors. It does not allow us to conjecture that the one whose style is easier copied it from one whose style is difficult. Siddhasena Divākara wrote *Dvātriṃśadvātriṁśikā* in difficult language. The work at present found is in the first 20 *Dvātriṁśikās* and is published by Jain Dharma Prasāraka Sabhā, Bhāvanagar. Hemacandra even refers to Siddhasena Divākara saying: Anusiddhasenam kavayaḥ (अनुसिद्धसेनं कवयः ।). I cannot say how far the argument of my old friend, Dr. Jacobi, that Kalyāṇamandira appeared after Mānatuṅga, will hold good.

In dramatic literature I can add the following names :—

1. *Kaumudīmitrāṇandam* (printed).
2. *Prabuddha-Rauhiṇeyam* ,,
3. *Draupadīsvayavṃaram* ,,
4. *Vajrakaruṇāyudham* ,,
5. *Dharmābhyudayam* ,,
6. *Satyahariścandra* ,,
7. *Raghuvilāpa-nāṭaka* (*not printed*)
8. *Rājīmatī-nāṭaka* ,, ,,
9. *Jñānasūryodaya-nāṭaka* (*printed*)
10. *Vikrānta-Kauravīya-nāṭaka* ,,
11. *Maithilī pariṇaya-nāṭaka* ,,
12. *Nāṭya darpaṇa* with their own commentary by Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra.

This is an excellent work on dramaturgy. I have a manuscript with me. During my stay in Shivpuri (Gwalior State) at the end of January 1923 my honoured friend the Upadhyaya Indravijaya kindly lent me a copy of the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*, taken from the original Ms. but it is not yet printed. It contains many interesting quotations. The *Mṛcchakaṭika* is frequently quoted, while the *Daridra-cārudatta* is only mentioned (unfortunately without the author's name). From Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta* a verse is quoted, which, however, is not found in Gaṇapati Śāstri's edition (in the 4th Act where we might expect it). As an example of an *anumāna* we find the following:

> यथा भासकृते स्वप्नवासवदत्ते शेफालिकामराडपशिलातलमवलोक्य वत्सराजः ।
> पादाक्रान्तानि पुष्पाणि सोष्म चेदं शिलातलम् ।
> नूनं काचिदिहासीना मां दृष्ट्वा सहसा गता ॥

पूर्वार्धं लिङ्गमुत्तरार्धमनुमानम् ॥

Many plays are quoted as अस्मदुपज्ञ. Are they the joint work of the two disciples of Hemacandra, or only the work of Rāmacandra? Amongst the dramas most frequently quoted are *Tāpasavatsarāja*, *Ratnāvalī*, *Veṇīsaṁhāra*, and *Kṛtyārāvaṇa*. The *Anargharāghava* is quoted once. Viśākhadatta was hitherto only known as the author of the *Mudrārākṣasa*. In the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* commentary he is also quoted as the author of a *Devīcandragupta* Nāṭaka.

A critical edition of this highly interesting work would be very desirable. But more manuscripts ought to be found.

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